

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2415  
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY  
USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

S E C R E T SALT TWO GENEVA 0031

EXDIS/SALT

DEPT ALSO PASS DOD

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: PARM  
SUBJECT: DEPUTY MINISTERS SEMENOVS STATEMENT OF FEBRUARY 12, 1975  
(SALT TWO-515)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY DEPUTY MINISTER  
SEMENOV AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF FEBRUARY 12, 1975.

QUOTE:

IN ITS STATEMENT OF FEBRUARY 6, THE USSR DELEGATION  
NOTED THAT THE NEW AGREEMENT ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC  
OFFENSIVE ARMS, WITH A DURATION UNTIL THE END OF 1985,  
MUST CONTAIN A COMPLEX OF LIMITATIONS WHICH IN THEIR  
TOTALITY MUST ENSURE THAT THE NEW AGREEMENT BE IN ACCORD  
WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY. BY WAY  
OF CONTINUING TO SET FORTH ITS CONSIDERATIONS ON THE DRAFT  
AGREEMENT UNDER DISCUSSION, THE SOVIET DELEGATION  
TODAY INTENDS TO ADDRESS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT  
QUALITATIVE LIMITATIONS ON STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS

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PROVIDED FOR IN THE DRAFT AGREEMENT, NAMELY-- LIMITATIONS

ON LAUNCHERS FOR MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS.

IN YOUR STATEMENT OF FEBRUARY 4, YOU, MR AMBASSADOR,  
NOTED THAT THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE USSR AND THE US SOUGHT  
FOR MANY YEARS TO ESTABLISH NOT ONLY QUANTITATIVE, BUT  
ALSO QUALITATIVE LIMITATIONS ON STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS.

FROM THE VERY BEGINNING OF THE NEGOTIATINS ON THE  
LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS THE SOVIET SIDE  
HAS ATTACHED GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE SEARCH FOR MUTUALLY  
ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS TO THIS QUESTION. AS EARLY AS THE  
INITIAL STAGE OF THE NEGOTIATINS, THE SOVIET SIDE RAISED  
THE QUESTION OF THE NEED TO CONSIDER AND RESOLVE THE  
PROBLEM OF QUALITIATIVE LIMITATIONS AND , IN PARTICULAR,  
LIMITATIONS ON MRV/MIRVS. IN VIENNA, HELSINKI AND GENEVA  
THE USSR DELEGATION EMPAHSIZED THAT THIS ASPECT OF THE  
PROBLEM OF CURBING THE RACE IN STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS  
MERITS SERIOUS ATTENTION IN THE CONTEXT OF THE ONGOING  
NEGOTIATIONS. THE SOVIET SIDE SUBMITTED APPROPRIATE  
CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSALS. AT THAT TIME, HOWEVER, THE  
SIDES WERE UNABLE TO RECONCILE THEIR POSITIONS.

THE MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION TO THIS QUESTION,  
WHICH WAS FOUND BY THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES  
DURING THE SUMMIT MEETING IN VLADIVOSTOK IN THE CONTEXT OF  
THE MAIN PROVISONS TO BE INCLUDED IN THE NEW AGREEMENT  
ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS FOR THE  
PERIOD UNTIL THE END OF 1985, ATTRACTED WORLDWIDE ATTENTION.  
IT WAS ESTABLISHED THAT DURING THE TERM OF THE NEW AGREEMENT  
BOTH SIDES WOULD BE ENTITLED TO HAVE EQUAL AGREED  
AGGREGATE NUMBERS OF SLBM LAUNCHERS AND LAND-BASED ICBM  
LAUNCHERS WITH MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS. IT WAS AGREED  
THAT THIS AGGREAGATE NUMBER WOULD NOT EXCEED 1,320  
UNITS. WITHIN THE LIMITS OF THAT NUMBER THE SIDES CAN  
DETERMINE FOR THEMSELVES THE TYPES AND NUMBERS OF MISSILE  
LAUNCHERS EQUIPPED WITH SUCH REENTRY VEHICLES.

THE SOLUTION THE GOVERNMENTS FOUND TO THE QUESTION  
OF LIMITING THE AGGREGATE NUMBER OF SLBM LAUNCHERS AND  
LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS WITH MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH  
MULTIPLE INDEPENDENTLY TARGETABLE REENTRY VEHICLES TO  
EQUAL MAXIMUM LEVELS FOR THE SIDES, NOT TO EXCEED 1,320  
UNITS, IS ONE OF THE KEY ELEMENTS OF THE AGREEMENT. IT  
INDICATES MOVEMENT IN THE AREA OF QUALITATIVE LIMITATIONS

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ON STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, AND IS OF SUBSTANTIAL  
IMPORTANCE IN TERMS OF ENHANCING THE VIABILITY OF THE  
AGREEMENT. THE FACT THAT THE AFOREMENTINED PROVISIONS  
WILL CONSTITUTE AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE NEW AGREEMENT  
UNDOUTEDLY INCREASES ITS SIGNIFICANCE IN OVERALL POLITICAL  
TERMS AS WELL. VIEWED IN THE TOTALITY OF THE OBLIGATIONS  
PROVIDED FOR, THE NEW AGREEMENT UNDOUBTEDLY WILL PLAY AN  
IMPORTANT ROLE FROM THE STANDPOINT OF EXERCISING RESTRAINT

IN THE DEPLOYMENT OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, AND WILL  
CONTRIBUTE TO IMPROVING STRATEGIC STABILITY.

ARTICLE V OF THE DRAFT UNDER CONSIDERATION EMBODIES  
THE SOLUTION, AGREED BETWEEN THE SIDES, TO THE QUESTION  
OF LIMITING LAUNCHERS WITH MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MIRVs.  
THE WORKING OF THE ARTICLE WAS DRAFTED TAKING INTO ACCOUNT  
THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF THIS PROVISION WITH THE OTHER  
LIMITATIONS PROVIDED FOR IN THE DRAFT AGREEMENT AND MEETS  
THE REQUIREMENT OF CLEAR AND PRECISE PRESENTATION.

THE PROVISIONS WRITTEN INTO THE ARTICLE ARE FULLY  
IN ACCORD WITH THE UNDERSTANDING REACHED BETWEEN THE SIDES  
ON THE QUESTION OF LIMITING SLBM LAUNCHERS AND LAND-BASED  
ICBM LAUNCHERS WITH MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MULTIPLE  
INDEPENDENTLY TARGETABLE REENTRY VEHICLES. WE PROCEED  
FROM THE PREMISE THAT ALL THIS PROVIDES THE BASIS FOR THE  
PRACTICAL PROCESS OF REACHING AGREEMENT ON THIS ARTICLE.

MR AMBASSADOR,

THE USSR DELEGATION HAS EXAMINED, IN A PRELIMINARY  
WAY, THE US DELEGATION'S STATEMENT AT THE MEETING OF  
FEBRUARY 10. WE BELIEVE THAT IT CONTAINS ELEMENTS WHICH  
MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO GAIN A SOMEWHAT BETTER UNDERSTANDING  
OF THE VIEWS OF THE US SIDE ON SOME ASPECTS INVOLVED  
IN THE PREPARATION OF THE DRAFT AGREEMENT. AS FAR AS  
WE CAN JUDGE, A COINCIDENCE OF VIEWS IS BECOMING APPARENT  
ON SOME QUESTIONS.

HOWEVER, WITHOUT GOING INTO A DETAILED ANALYSIS AT  
THIS TIME, WE WOULD LIKE TO SAY THAT MUCH STILL REMAINS  
UNCLEAR TO US CONCERNING THE POSITION OF THE US SIDE  
ON THE QUESTIONS YOU ADDRESSED, AND WE ANTICIPATE THAT  
IN THE NEAR FUTURE YOU WILL COVER THEM IN GREATER DETAIL.

MR AMBASSADOR,

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WE TOOK NOTE OF THAT PART OF THE US DELEGATION'S  
STATEMENT WHICH REFERS TO AIR TO SURFACE MISSILES. IN  
ACCORDANCE WITH THE EXISTING UNDERSTANDING, AIR TO SURFACE  
MISSILES WITH A RANGE OF MORE THAN 600 KILOMETERS ARE  
SUBJECT TO LIMITATION WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE AGREEMENT  
BEING PREPARED, AND WILL BE COUNTED IN THE OVERALL  
AGGREGATE NUMBER OF DELIVERY SYSTEMS FOR STRATEGIC WEAPONS.  
AIR TO SURFACE MISSILES WITH A RANGE OF MORE THAN 600  
KILOMETERS ARE AN EFFECTIVE DELIVERY SYSTEM FOR STRATEGIC  
WEAPONS, REGARDLESS OF TYPE OF TRAJECTORY. THERE ARE,  
THEREFORE, NO GROUNDS WHATSOEVER FOR DRAWING A  
DISTINCTION BETWEEN INDIVIDUAL TYPES OF AIR TO SURFACE  
MISSILES WITH A RANGE OF MORE THAN 600 KILOMETERS.  
THEREFORE, WHEN BOMBERS ARE EQUIPPED WITH AIR TO SURFACE  
MISSILES OF ANY TYPE WITH A RANGE OF MORE THAN 600 KILO-

METERS, EACH SUCH MISSILE MUST BE COUNTED AS ONE UNIT IN THE AGGREGATE NUMBER OF 2,400 UNITS. THE WORKING OF ARTICLE II OF THE DRAFT AGREEMENT UNDER CONSIDERATION IS FULLY IN ACCORD WITH THE UNDERSTANDING RECORDED IN THE AIDE MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974. UNQUOTE. JOHNSON

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## Message Attributes

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